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This searching wit and keen insight into human motives and foibles is not devoted to Tory statesmen alone. Speaking of Catherine II. and Frederick the Great, he dryly remarks: "They had been partners—and, when they saw occasion for it, accomplices and fellow conspirators,—in enterprises of great moment of which some were laudable, and almost all were lucrative." Relating that a German baron in Philadelphia assured his Whig friends that the King of Prussia was "A great man for liberty", Trevelyan says, with perfect truth, "never was a sentiment more strictly platonic than Frederick's affection for the cause of American freedom".

In this final volume as in the preceding ones, we have an English Whig's history of the American Revolution. This is not to say that he is not sympathetic with the colonial cause, for, indeed, he is often more generous in his sympathy than American writers of recent vintage, but his interests are in the English problems of that time. This is as it should be, and to those who enjoy the history of a rich and varied political and social life, it is more interesting than the study of the seeds and small beginnings of American political and social institutions. Trevelyan's account of the formation of the County Associations (December, 1779)—"a political agitation on a scale surpassing anything which was reached until the crisis of the Reform Bill of 1832"—is intensely interesting, but not the kind of thing which would have caught the eye and employed the pen of an American historian of the American Revolution. The same may be said of the interesting controversy involving the "lords lieutenants", of the account of "the city and the loan", of "Lord North and the tax-payer", and of the "General Election" of 1780. The American war is described, and there are pictures of American social conditions, but the embryonic American institutions are either untouched, or only vaguely suggested. The only regret that this final volume leaves with us, is that we can no longer enjoy that pleasurable anticipation which all the preceding volumes have afforded.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

*The Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1805-1840.* Edited by his son, ROLLO RUSSELL. In two volumes. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1913. Pp. 319, 314.)

PERHAPS the most striking impression conveyed by a perusal of Lord John Russell's letters is that of the youthfulness of the writer. Possibly this is true in part because considerable space is given to the very early letters, but it must also be true that a certain buoyant boyishness characterizes a very large number of the selections. These early letters are printed for the first time, and are extremely interesting, especially as Russell, from childhood, regarded himself as a statesman in the making. Not only did he accept, as a matter of course, his destiny as a political leader, but, from the beginning, he displayed a singleness of purpose in political life, which marked his whole career. Upon the re-

form of the franchise, in some fashion, he had thought and written much before he was twenty, and letters to him during these early years show how keenly he was being watched by prominent men in English public life. The time was ripe for just such an eager, earnest reformer.

The editor gives a fair summary of the condition of England in Russell's boyhood and then quotes from Sir George Trevelyan, apropos of the period 1790-1825, the following:

For the space of more than a generation, from 1790 onwards, our country had, with a short interval, been governed on declared reactionary principles. . . . Fear, religion, self-interest, ambition—everything that could tempt and everything that could deter—were enlisted on the side of the dominant opinions. . . . To profess Liberal opinions was to be excluded from all posts of emolument, all functions of dignity. . . . No motive but disinterested conviction kept a handful of veterans steadfast round a banner which was never raised except to be contemptuously swept down. . . . The Press was gagged. . . . Every speech which a Crown lawyer could torture into a semblance of sedition sent its author to jail, to the hulks, or the pillory. . . . It was vain to appeal to Parliament for redress against packed juries and panic-driven magistrates. . . . Attendance at an open meeting for parliamentary reform was as dangerous as night poaching.

Russell's family belonged, indeed, to the party in opposition, the party of proposed Parliamentary reform, and the boyish letters show that, from the earliest moment, while in school and later at Edinburgh University, Russell manifested an intense interest in the franchise. The first letters quoted were written at the age of thirteen, and, from that time on, he is found expressing opinions on political matters and mature subjects, such as are indeed remarkable even from a boy believing himself ordained to political leadership. In 1810, when but eighteen years old, he wrote, apparently for private use, a review, "The Whig Register", several numbers of which still exist. In 1811 he prepared a long article on "Extension of the Franchise", and, in 1813, while still under age, he was first elected to Parliament.

The preceding six or seven years had been a period of invaluable experience and opportunity. He had made the acquaintance of Fox, Holland, and the leaders of the Whig party, and before he was twenty he had been at home in the best society of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; he had travelled upon the Continent, had ridden with Wellington along the line of Torres Vedras, had visited Napoleon at Elba, and had done some desultory writing. A volume of essays and sketches were published about 1815, the *Life of William Lord Russell* was published in 1819, while sundry articles and reviews appeared during the same years. His political engagements were naturally less confining than later on, and he impressed many men of letters as showing noticeable promise. With Tom Moore, the Irish poet, he was on terms of the closest intimacy throughout his life.

Russell's tours abroad were planned by his father as a part of his

political training, and his vacation travels in England were also arranged for their educational opportunity. For instance, there was a carefully scheduled journey among the manufacturing towns of northern England. This tour was made in company with Professor Playfair of Edinburgh, that Russell might know, at first hand, their industrial conditions. It is hardly necessary to say that Whig opposition saw its best opportunity in these manufacturing centres, and hoped for increased influence there through franchise extension. Almost with a sense of guardianship, certainly with a sense of approaching political sponsorship, leaders of the Whig party wrote to Russell letters of advice and suggestion. Not only did they attempt to expound political principles as a basis of public conduct, but they, especially his father, outlined specific fields of political activity where Russell's ability would be most serviceable.

Entering Parliament at the close of the Napoleonic Wars, he undertook the immediate campaign for franchise extension, believing that England's good fortune in the war would bring a wider sympathy for Parliamentary reform. It was no difficult matter, however, for powerful political opponents to hamper the opposition and to prevent favorable action. Russell was energetic, eager, capable, but greatly handicapped by youth and inexperience, and after several years of earnest effort, became thoroughly discouraged, and prepared to desert politics for literature. The influence of family and political friends, however, was uniformly against this decision, and when the reform movement again came to the front, he was in his accustomed place.

For the reform movement itself there is surprisingly little correspondence in these volumes; practically nothing is added to our knowledge of Russell's activities or influence. The editor attributes this to the very intensity of the Parliamentary battle, and the burden of official duties which came with the accession of the Whig party to power.

Indeed, save for the early years of political life, there is no new light upon Lord John. The volumes, while readable and interesting, add little to historical knowledge. The type, the training, and the youthful environment of a man of Russell's achievements it is important to understand; and his character, in its formative period, is brought out in these letters.

There are rather more letters from Russell's correspondents than from Russell himself, and one from Lord Holland urging upon Russell the duties of peacemaker attracts attention. Writing confidentially, in January, 1831, and proclaiming neutrality to be Britain's only rôle, he says: "Pray say what you think on this matter, not to me but to others. You begot the neutrality of Belgium, beget the peace of the world."

An appendix of twenty pages gives an excellent and condensed series of biographical sketches of correspondents. The index of names is adequate; that of subjects covers but two pages and is altogether too brief to be of any real service.